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CAPE COD JOURNAL
OF THE PILGRIM FATHERS

THE CAPE COD JOURNAL OF THE PILGRIM FATHERS

Reprinted from Mourt's Relation

With Introduction and Notes by
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and Cover Design by
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THE ADVOCATE GIFT SHOP
PROVINCETOWN

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INTRODUCTION

THE first American anchorage of the *Mayflower* was in the "good harbor" of Cape Cod, November 21, 1620.

The first thanksgiving for the completion of the voyage was made when the Pilgrims "set their feet upon the firm and stable earth" at Provincetown, and "fell upon their knees and blessed the God of heaven."

During the first five weeks spent by the Pilgrims in America, the *Mayflower* lay anchored at Provincetown (November 21-December 25, 1620), and exploring parties went forth "to look out a place for habitation."

The first "landing at Plymouth" (December 21, 1620) was the landing of the third exploring party sent from the *Mayflower* while she still lay within the shelter of Provincetown harbor.

These are a few of the historical facts which challenge the attention of Americans. The knowledge of these facts has not come down to us by obscure or doubtful tradition. The Pilgrims left the record of them in a pamphlet printed in England as early as 1622.

The first experiences of the Pilgrims in the New World made a vivid impression on their minds. Letters were written and journals were kept of what they saw and did in America. The *Mayflower* herself, on her return-sailing in April 1621, carried the first of the accounts to friends in Holland and England. Narratives of later happenings were sent by the next ship that came and went. Some of these journals and letters were gathered together by a representative of the colony in London, presumably George Morton, who published them in 1622 with a title nearly two hundred words long: *A Relation or Journall of the Beginning and Proceedings of the English Plantation settled at Plimoth in New England*, etc. etc. Because an

abbreviation of the long title was inevitable, and because the editor had quaintly signed the preface "G. Mourt," this book is now always referred to as Mourt's *Relation*. That part of the journal which deals with the five weeks on Cape Cod is here fully reprinted word for word. In the hope that it will lead to a more general reading of this old record, the spelling is modernized.

When William Bradford, some years later, wrote his *History of Plymouth Plantation*, he retold these events in much shortened form. His chapter covering the period between the anchoring at Cape Cod and the arrival of the *Mayflower* at Plymouth is not a third as long as the parallel account in Mourt's *Relation*. His is so evidently based on Mourt's *Relation* that it has not seemed worth while to print it also in this little pamphlet. But here and there a sentence occurs which adds some detail from Bradford's own memory. Such sentences have been printed at the foot of these pages with marginal

references. Bradford's fuller account of the first three days in Plymouth Harbor is also given.

After the Pilgrims settled at Plymouth, Cape Cod never seemed to them far away. They discovered at once that they could see the Cape from the hill back of the town-site; they say so in their journal. On one occasion after another, they came back to Cape Cod. The next summer after their arrival, one of the Plymouth boys got lost in the woods and strayed a long way from home. He fell in with Indians who took him to Nauset on Cape Cod. To recover him Governor Bradford sent out a party of men, who came in a shallop as far down the Cape as the present Eastham—to the very place, they tell us, where the Indians had attacked them in December 1620. There they found the lost boy. The *Fortune*, the second ship that came to Plymouth, stopped like the *Mayflower* in "the harbor at Cape Cod" (November 19, 1621), and the Indians of the Cape sent to Plym-

outh the first news of its appearance. In the late autumn and winter of 1622 a party from Plymouth made a tour of Cape Cod to buy corn from the Indians. Bradford himself led this expedition and tells about it in his *History;* so does Winslow, in *Good News from New England* (1624). In 1627 an English ship bound for Virginia, the *Sparrowhawk*, ran aground near Chatham. The people all got ashore, and through the friendliness of the Indians, got a message off to Plymouth asking for help. This brought Pilgrims down the Cape again.

Besides these recorded expeditions, there were doubtless many trips made to the Cape both for fishing and for fur-trading. When settlements began to scatter out from Plymouth, Cape Cod began to be settled. In less than twenty years after the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers, three Cape settlements had grown to the dignity of organized townships; Sandwich, Barnstable, and Yarmouth were all incorporated in 1639 under the jurisdiction of Plymouth. So many

people were wanting to leave Plymouth about this time, that a proposal was very seriously considered in the early forties for abandoning Plymouth altogether and moving the whole colony to Nauset. Although, on mature deliberation, Plymouth was not vacated, a colony led by one of their ex-governors, Thomas Prince, went off and founded Eastham in 1644. From these four early Pilgrim settlements—Sandwich, Barnstable, Yarmouth, and Eastham—most of the present towns of the Cape have been created by subdivision.

These facts should make it clear that Bradford was not writing about a distant or forgotten country, when he included the earliest Cape Cod incidents in his *History of Plymouth*. That the educators of America—schools, colleges, newspapers, and books—have suffered a pathological lapse of memory in regard to these early episodes, is the astounding fact that really needs explaining. It is partly accounted for by the devout and all-absorbing Plymouth-worship, which has possessed many

American patriots. And this is by no means an unfortunate development. It is unfortunate that an English poetess, who never even saw New England, should have been aided and abetted by American school-textbooks and schoolteachers in fixing an untrue picture in many minds. By the time a schoolboy has committed to memory

The breaking waves dashed high
On a stern and rock-bound coast,

it has become imaginatively impossible for him to think of a Pilgrim-landing different from the poetical one. Hundreds of such schoolboys, grown to various stages of manhood, visit Cape Cod every year and come to a knowledge of the truth through stages of incredulity and perplexity. That a poem by Felicia Hemans should be popularly accepted as history, and the journal written by the Pilgrims themselves, approached with suspicion, is a real disgrace to our popular education.

Historians, who at various times

have edited Mourt's *Relation*, have been interested in identifying the places where the various incidents occurred. The best work of this sort was done in the nineteenth century, and chiefly by three men. The first of these was a son of Cape Cod, James Freeman of Boston, whose father was a native of Truro. In 1802 Freeman edited a part of Mourt's *Relation* with notes for the Massachusetts Historical Society. The second was Alexander Young, who included Mourt's *Relation* in his book entitled *Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers* (1841) and furnished it with a series of fascinating footnotes identifying and describing localities, incidentally quoting often and gratefully from Freeman. The third was Henry Martyn Dexter, who, while acknowledging indebtedness to his predecessors, carried identifications even further. In his edition of Mourt's *Relation* (1865) he published a map setting forth his suggestions as to probable localities and itineraries. A part of this map, covering the tip of the Cape, has

been reprinted many times in Provincetown in recent years.

The outstanding identifications are not involved in any obscurity or difficulty. The description of the "harbor of Cape Cod" in which the *Mayflower* found a haven, fits Provincetown harbor and no other. The closing episode of the Cape explorations—the encounter with the Indians—was at Nauset; the later journals say so. The identification of Nauset with Eastham is established by later records and by the early Pilgrim settlement at Eastham. So, all the Cape Cod localities mentioned in the journal here reprinted must lie in the townships of Provincetown, Truro, Wellfleet, or Eastham. A midway point is settled by the identification of the "supposed river" with the Pamet. The striking correspondence of the description with the topography of the Pamet would satisfy most minds. We have in addition the corroboration of the place-name, whatever that may be worth. In the message sent to Massasoit in 1621 (recorded in a later narra-

tive in Mourt's *Relation*) the Pilgrims say: "At our first arrival at Paomet, called by us Cape Cod, we found there corn buried in the ground."

Some other places have not been so convincingly determined. Dexter's hypothetical pond on the Provincetown beach, which figures in his map, is the result of a rather gallant determination to furnish the Pilgrim Mothers with *fresh* water for their Monday washing. The "springs" where the Pilgrims drank their "first New England water" seem to many unsatisfactorily identified. One would make himself famous if he could dig up relics and prove the exact location of the "sumptuous" palisaded burying-ground of the Nauset Indians. Many of the minor details of Dexter's hypothesis need to be challenged, debated, and either reproved or disproved. A bit of topographical research would add zest to any Cape Cod vacation. It offers also a most interesting hobby to those who live on Cape Cod and know thoroughly, not only

every foot of the ground, but also the elements which had as much influence upon the movements of the Pilgrims—the winds and the sea.

Lest they should arrogate to themselves the authority of the original journal, no identifications have been permitted in the text, even in brackets. They are distinctly set apart in the margins; and even there, only such identifications are suggested as are agreed upon by prime authorities and therefore seem most unlikely to be successfully disputed. Those who are interested in more detailed identifications are referred to the authorities already mentioned.

The margins are also used for another kind of matter extraneous to the text: dates, transposed from the antiquated Julian calendar to that now all but universally used. This transposition requires the addition of ten days to the dates as they stand in the journal.

After the lapse of three centuries it is difficult to realize the fortuitousness of the settlement at Plym-

outh. But any one who reads the following journal will see that the Cape Cod episodes were the groping steps by which the location of the colony was finally determined. The changes of plans and the accidents, which brought the Pilgrims ultimately to Plymouth, were piquantly summarized at the time by John Pory, whose visit to the colony in 1622 Bradford incidentally mentions in his *History*, but whose letter has only recently been discovered.

" How favorably God's providence without, and indeed quite besides, any plot or design of theirs hath wrought, especially in the beginning of their enterprise, is worthy to be observed. For when . . . . their voyage was intended for Virginia, being by letters . . . recommended to Sir Yardly then governor, that he should give them the best advice he could for trading in Hudson's River; whether it were by contrariety of wind or by the backwardness of their master or pilot to make, as they thought it, too long a journey; they fell short

both of the one and the other, arriving first at that stately harbor called Cape Cod, called by Indians Pawmet; from whence in shallop the pilot (a more forward undertaker than performer) promised to bring them to be seated in a pleasant and fertile place called Anquam, situate within Cape Anna about forty leagues from Plymouth. After some dangerous and almost incurable errors and mistakings, he stumbled by accident upon the harbor of Plymouth, where, after the planters had failed of their intention and the pilot of his, it pleased Almighty God (who had better provided for them than their own hearts could imagine) to plant them upon the seat of an old town, which divers years before had been abandoned of the Indians."

Those who have regretted that Mourt's *Relation* has been so completely out of print will welcome even this fractional republication of it. It is hoped that those who have not already made themselves acquainted with this old Pilgrim record will find this little edition a

happy introduction to it. Enthusiasts for the Cape will feel additional interest in the probability that a large part of the journal here reprinted was written while the *Mayflower* lay in "that stately harbor called Cape Cod, called by Indians Pawmet."

LYON SHARMAN

North Truro, Mass.
June 1, 1920

THE CAPE COD JOURNAL OF THE PILGRIM FATHERS

Reprinted from Mourt's Relation

WEDNESDAY, the sixth of September, the wind coming east-north-east, a fine small gale, we loosed from Plymouth, having been kindly entertained and courteously used by divers friends there dwelling; and after many difficulties in boisterous storms, at length, by God's providence, upon the ninth of November following, by break of the day we espied land, which we deemed to be Cape Cod, and so afterward it proved. And the appearance of it much comforted us, especially seeing so goodly a land, and wooded to the brink of the sea; it caused

Sept. 16, 1620

Plymouth, Eng.

Nov. 19, 1620

Cf. Bradford 1

Bradford 1:

¶ "A word or two by the way of this Cape; it was thus first named by Captain Gosnold and his company, Anno 1602, and after by Captain Smith was called Cape James; but it retains the former name amongst seamen."—*History of Plymouth Plantation.*

us to rejoice together, and praise God that had given us once again to see land. And thus we made our course south-south-west, pur-

Hudson River
Cf. Bradford 2

posing to go to a river ten leagues to the south of the Cape; but at night the wind being contrary, we put round again for the bay of Cape Cod; and upon the 11th of

Nov. 21, 1620

November we came to an anchor

Provincetown

in the bay, which is a good harbor and pleasant bay, circled round, except in the entrance, which is

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Bradford 2:

¶ "After some deliberation had amongst themselves and with the master of the ship, they tacked about and resolved to stand for the southward (the wind and weather being fair) to find some place about Hudson's river for their habitation. But after they had sailed that course about half the day, they fell amongst dangerous shoals and roaring breakers, and they were so far entangled therewith as they conceived themselves in great danger; and the wind shrinking upon them withal, they resolved to bear up again for the Cape, and thought themselves happy to get out of those dangers before night overtook them, as by God's providence they did. And the next day they got into the Cape-harbor where they rid in safety . . . . . That point which first showed those dangerous shoals unto them, they called Point Care, and Tucker's Terror; but the French and Dutch to this day call it Malabar by reason of those perilous shoals and the losses they have suffered there."—*H. P. P.*

about four miles over from land to land, compassed about to the very sea with oaks, pines, juniper, sassafras, and other sweet wood; it is a harbor wherein a thousand sail of ships may safely ride. There we relieved ourselves with wood and water, and refreshed our people, while our shallop was fitted to coast the bay to search for an habitation. There was the greatest store of fowl that ever we saw.

And every day we saw whales playing hard by us, of which in that place, if we had instruments and means to take them, we might have made a very rich return; which, to our great grief, we wanted. Our master, and his mate, and others experienced in fishing, professed we might have made three or four thousand pounds' worth of oil. They preferred it before Greenland whale-fishing, and purpose the next winter to fish for whale here. For cod we assayed, but found none; there is good store, no doubt, in their season. Neither got we any fish all the time we lay there, but some few little ones

on the shore. We found great mussels, and very fat and full of sea-pearl; but we could not eat them, for they made us all sick that did eat, as well sailors as passengers; they caused to cast and scour; but they were soon well again.

The bay is so round and circling, that before we could come to anchor, we went round all the points of the compass. We could not come near the shore by three quarters of an English mile, because of shallow water, which was a great prejudice to us; for our people, going on shore, were forced to wade a bowshot or two in going a-land, which caused many to get colds and coughs; for it was many times freezing cold weather.

This day, before we came to harbor, observing some not well

Cf. Bradford 3

Bradford 3:

¶ "Occasioned partly by the discontented and mutinous speeches that some of the strangers amongst them had let fall from them in the ship—that when they came ashore they would use their own liberty; for none had power to command them, the patent they had being for Virginia, and not for New England, which belonged to another government, with which the Virginia Company had nothing to do. And

affected to unity and concord, but gave some appearance of faction, it was thought good there should be an association and agreement, that we should combine together in one body, and to submit to such government and governors as we should by common consent agree to make and choose, and set our hands to this that follows, word for word.

In the name of God, Amen. We, whose names are underwritten, the loyal subjects of our dread sovereign Lord King James, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland king, defender of the faith, &c.

Having undertaken for the glory of God, and advancement of the Christian faith, and honor of our king and country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia, do by these presents solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God and one

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partly that such an act by them done (this their condition considered) might be as firm as any patent, and in some respects more sure."—*H. P. P.*

of another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politic, for our better ordering and preservation, and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by virtue hereof to enact, constitute, and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, offices from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the colony: unto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witness whereof we have hereunder subscribed our names, Cape
Nov. 21, 1620 Cod, 11th of November, in the year of the reign of our sovereign Lord King James of England, France, and Ireland 18th, and of
Cf. Bradford 4 Scotland 54th, Anno Domini 1620.

The same day, so soon as we could, we set ashore 15 or 16 men,

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Bradford 4:

¶ At the end of his *History* Bradford gives the names of the original settlers together with their families and servants. In this list he seems to use the title *Mr.* with discrimination. This list is to be distinguished from the list of the signers of the Compact, which was first published in 1669 by Nathaniel Morton in *New England's Memorial.* The names of the signers are there given with some variation from Bradford's spelling, as follows:

well armed, with some to fetch wood, for we had none left; as also to see what the land was, and what inhabitants they could meet with. They found it to be a small neck of land; on this side where we lay,

Cf. Bradford 5

Cf. Bradford 6

John Carver
William Bradford
Edward Winslow
William Brewster
Isaac Allerton
Miles Standish
John Alden
Samuel Fuller
Christopher Martin
William Mullins
William White
Richard Warren
John Howland
Stephen Hopkins
Edward Tilly
John Tilly
Francis Cooke
Thomas Rogers
Thomas Tinker
John Ridgdale
Edward Fuller
John Turner
Francis Eaton
James Chilton
John Craxton
John Billington
Joses Fletcher
John Goodman
Digery Priest
Thomas Williams
Gilbert Winslow
Edmund Margeson
Peter Brown
Richard Bitteridge
George Soule
Richard Clark
Richard Gardiner
John Allerton
Thomas English
Edward Doten
Edward Leister

Bradford 5:

¶ "Being thus arrived in a good harbor and brought safe to land, they fell upon their knees and blessed the God of heaven, who had brought them over the vast and furious ocean, and delivered them from all the perils and miseries thereof, again to set their feet on the firm and stable earth, their proper element."—*H. P. P.*

Bradford 6:

¶ "They had now no friends to welcome them nor inns to entertain or refresh their weatherbeaten bodies, no houses or much less towns to repair to . . . . . And for

is the bay, and the further side the sea; the ground or earth, sand hills, much like the downs in Holland, but much better; the crust of the earth, a spit's depth, excellent black earth; all wooded with oaks, pines, sassafras, juniper, birch, holly, vines, some ash, walnut; the wood for the most part open and without underwood, fit either to go or ride in. At night our people returned, but found not any person, nor habitation; and laded their

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the season it was winter, and they that know the winters of that country know them to be sharp and violent, and subject to cruel and fierce storms, dangerous to travel to known places, much more to search an unknown coast. Besides, what could they see but a hideous and desolate wilderness, full of wild beasts and wild men? and what multitudes there might be of them they knew not . . . . . If it be said they had a ship to succor them, it is true; but what heard they daily from the master and company? but that with speed they should look out a place with their shallop, where they would be at some near distance; for the season was such as he would not stir from thence till a safe harbor was discovered by them where they would be, and he might go without danger; and that victuals consumed apace, but he must and would keep sufficient for themselves and their return. Yea, it was muttered by some, that if they got not a place in time, they would turn them and their goods ashore and leave them." —*H. P. P.*

boat with juniper, which smelled very sweet and strong, and of which we burnt the most part of the time we lay there.

Monday, the 13th of November, *Nov. 23, 1620*
we unshipped our shallop and drew her on land to mend and repair her, *Cf. Bradford 7*
having been forced to cut her down in bestowing her betwixt the decks, and she was much opened with the people's lying in her; which kept us long there, for it was 16 or 17 days before the carpenter had finished her. Our people went on shore to refresh themselves, and our women to wash, as they had great need. But whilst we lay thus still, hoping our shallop would be ready in five or six days at the furthest, but our carpenter made slow work of it, so that some of our people, impatient of delay,

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Bradford 7:

¶ "Necessity calling them to look out a place for habitation (as well as the master's and mariners' importunity) they having brought a large shallop with them out of England, stowed in quarters in the ship, they now got her out and set their carpenters to work to trim her up; but being much bruised and shattered in the ship with foul weather, they saw she would be long in mending."—*H. P. P.*

desired for our better furtherance to travel by land into the country (which was not without appearance of danger, not having the shallop with them, nor means to carry provision but on their backs) to see whether it might be fit for us to seat in or no; and the rather, because, as we sailed into the harbor, there seemed to be a river opening itself into the main land. The willingness of the persons was liked, but the thing itself, in regard of the danger, was rather permitted than approved; and so with cautions, directions, and instructions, sixteen men were set out with every man his musket, sword, and corslet, under the conduct of Captain Miles Standish, unto whom was adjoined for counsel and advice, William Bradford, Stephen Hopkins, and Edward Tilley.

Cf. Bradford 8

Pamet River

Nov. 25, 1620

Wednesday, the 15th of November, they were set ashore; and

Bradford 8:

¶ "As they went into that harbor, there seemed to be an opening some 2 or 3 leagues off, which the master judged to be a river."—*H. P. P.*

when they had ordered themselves in the order of a single file and marched about the space of a mile, by the sea they espied five or six people with a dog coming towards them, who were savages, who, when they saw them, ran into the wood and whistled the dog after them, &c. First they supposed them to be Master Jones, the master, and some of his men, for they were ashore and knew of their coming; but after they knew them to be Indians, they marched after them into the woods, lest other of the Indians should lie in ambush. But when the Indians saw our men following them, they ran away with might and main, and our men turned out of the wood after them—for it was the way they intended to go—but they could not come near them. They followed them that night about ten miles by the trace of

Cf. Bradford 9

Bradford 9:

¶ "But the Indians seeing themselves thus followed, they again forsook the woods, and ran away on the sands as hard as they could, so as they could not come near them, but followed them by the tract of their feet sundry miles, and saw that they had come the same way."—*H. P. P.*

their footings, and saw how they had come the same way they went, and at a turning perceived how they run up a hill to see whether they followed them. At length night came upon them, and they were constrained to take up their lodging. So they set forth three sentinels, and the rest, some kindled a fire, and others fetched wood, and there held our rendezvous that night.

Nov. 26, 1620

In the morning, so soon as we could see the trace, we proceeded on our journey, and had the track until we had compassed the head of a long creek; and there they took into another wood, and we after them, supposing to find some of their dwellings. But we marched thorough boughs and bushes, and under hills and valleys, which tore our very armor in pieces, and yet could meet with none of them, nor their houses, nor find any fresh water, which we greatly desired

East Harbor Creek, i. e. Pilgrim Lake

Cf. Bradford 10

Bradford 10:

¶ "But they still followed them by guess, hoping to find their dwellings; but they soon lost both them and themselves."
—*H. P. P.*

and stood in need of; for we brought neither beer nor water with us, and our victuals was only biscuit and Holland cheese, and a little bottle of aquavitæ, so as we were sore athirst. About ten o'clock we came into a deep valley full of brush, wood-gaile, and long grass, through which we found little paths or tracts; and there we saw a deer, and found springs of fresh water, of which we were heartily glad, and sat us down and drunk our first New England water with as much delight as ever we drunk drink in all our lives. *Cf. Bradford 11*

When we had refreshed ourselves, we directed our course full south, that we might come to the shore, which within a short while after we did, and there made a fire, that they in the ship might see where we were (as we had direction); and *Cf. Bradford 12*

Bradford 11:

¶ "Now in their great thirst as pleasant unto them as wine or beer had been in fore-times."—*H. P. P.*

Bradford 12:

¶ "For they knew it was a neck of land they were to cross over."—*H. P. P.*

so marched on towards this supposed river. And as we went in another valley, we found a fine clear pond of fresh water, being about a musket-shot broad, and twice as long; there grew also many small vines, and fowl and deer haunted there; there grew much sassafras. From thence we went on and found much plain ground, about fifty acres, fit for the plow, and some signs where the Indians had formerly planted their corn. After this some thought it best, for nearness of the river, to go down and travel on the sea sands, by which means some of our men were tired and lagged behind. So we stayed and gathered them up, and struck into the land again; where we found a little path to certain heaps of sand, one whereof was covered with old mats, and had a wooden thing like a mortar whelmed on the top of it, and an earthen pot laid in a little hole at the end thereof. We, musing what it might be, digged and found a bow, and, as we thought, arrows, but they were rotten. We supposed

Pond Village
i. e. North Truro

there were many other things; but because we deemed them graves, we put in the bow again, and made it up as it was, and left the rest untouched, because we thought it would be odious unto them to ransack their sepulchres.

We went on further and found new stubble, of which they had gotten corn this year, and many walnut trees full of nuts, and great store of strawberries, and some vines. Passing thus a field or two, which were not great, we came to another, which had also been new gotten, and there we found where an house had been, and four or five old planks laid together. Also we found a great kettle, which had been some ship's kettle and brought out of Europe. There was also an heap of sand, made like the former, but it was newly done (we might see how they had paddled it with their hands), which we digged up, and in it we found a little old basket full of fair Indian corn; *Cornhill* and digged further and found a fine great new basket full of very fair corn of this year with some

36 goodly ears of corn, some yellow, and some red, and others mixed with blue, which was a very goodly sight. The basket was round, and narrow at the top. It held about three or four bushels, which was as much as two of us could lift up from the ground, and was very handsomely and cunningly made. But whilst we were busy about these things, we set our men sentinel in a round ring, all but two or three which digged up the corn. We were in suspense what to do with it and the kettle, and at length after much consultation, we concluded to take the kettle and as much of the corn as we could carry away with us; and when our shallop came, if we could find any of the people and come to parley with them, we would give them the kettle again and satisfy them for

Cf. Bradford 13

Bradford 13:

¶ "A very goodly sight (having never seen any such before.) This was near the place of that supposed river they came to seek; unto which they went and found it to open itself into two arms with a high cliff of sand in the entrance, but more like to be creeks of salt water than any fresh, for aught they saw; and that there was good harborage for their shallop."—*H. P. P.*

their corn. So we took all the ears, and put a good deal of the loose corn in the kettle for two men to bring away on a staff. Besides, they that could put any into their pockets, filled the same. The rest we buried again; for we were so laden with armor that we could carry no more.

Not far from this place we found the remainder of an old fort or palisado, which, as we conceived, had been made by some Christians. This was also hard by that place which we thought had been a river; unto which we went, and found it so to be, dividing itself into two arms by an high bank standing right by the cut or mouth, which came from the sea. That which was next unto us was the less; the other arm was more than twice as big, and not unlike to be an harbor for ships; but whether it be a fresh river, or only an indraught of the sea, we had no time to discover; for we had commandment to be out but two days. Here also we saw two canoes, the one on the one side, the other on the other side. We could

Pamet River

Old Tom's Hill

Little Pamet

not believe it was a canoe, till we came near it. So we returned, leaving the further discovery hereof to our shallop, and came that night back again to the fresh water pond; and there we made our rendezvous that night, making a great fire, and a barricado to windward of us, and kept good watch with three sentinels all night, every one standing when his turn came, while five or six inches of match was burning. It proved a very rainy night.

Pond Village i. e. North Truro

Nov. 27, 1620

In the morning we took our kettle and sunk it in the pond, and trimmed our muskets, for few of them would go off because of the wet; and so coasted the wood again to come home, in which we were shrewdly puzzled and lost our way. As we wandered we came to a tree, where a young sprit was bowed down over a bow, and some acorns strewed underneath. Stephen Hopkins said, it had been to catch some deer. So as we were looking at it, William Bradford being in the rear, when he came looked also upon it, and as he went

about it, it gave a sudden jerk up, and he was immediately caught by the leg. It was a very pretty device, made with a rope of their own making, and having a noose as artificially made as any roper in England can make, and as like ours as can be, which we brought away with us. In the end we got out of the wood, and were fallen about a mile too high above the creek, where we saw three bucks, but we had rather have had one of them. We also did spring three couple of partridges; and as we came along by the creek, we saw great flocks of wild geese and ducks, but they were very fearful of us. So we marched some while in the woods, some while on the sands, and other while in the water up to the knees, till at length we came near the ship; and then we shot off our pieces, and the long boat came to fetch us. Master Jones and Master Carver being on the shore, with many of our people, came to meet us. And

Pilgrim Lake and Meadow

Cf. Bradford 14

Bradford 14:

¶ " So their time limited them being expired, they returned to the ship, lest they

thus we came both weary and welcome home; and delivered in our corn into the store to be kept for seed, for we knew not how to come by any, and therefore were very glad, purposing, so soon as we could meet with any of the inhabitants of that place, to make them large satisfaction. This was our first discovery, whilst our shallop was in repairing.

Cf. Bradford 15

Our people did make things as fitting as they could, and time would, in seeking out wood, and helving of tools, and sawing of timber to build a new shallop. But the discommodiousness of the harbor did much hinder us; for we could neither go to nor come from the shore but at high water;

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should be in fear of their safety; and took with them part of the corn, and buried up the rest, and so like the men from Eshcol carried with them of the fruits of the land, and showed their brethren; of which, and their return, they were marvellously glad, and their hearts encouraged." —*H. P. P.*

Bradford 15:

¶ "Purposing to give them full satisfaction when they should meet with any of them (as about some six months afterward they did, to their good content)." —*H. P. P.*

which was much to our hindrance and hurt; for oftentimes they waded to the middle of the thigh, and oft to the knees, to go and come from land. Some did it necessarily, and some for their own pleasure; but it brought to the most, if not to all, coughs and colds (the weather proving suddenly cold and stormy), which afterwards turned to the scurvy, whereof many died.

When our shallop was fit (indeed before she was fully fitted, for there was two days' work after bestowed on her), there was appointed some 24 men of our own, and armed, then to go and make a more full discovery of the rivers before mentioned. Master Jones was desirous to go with us and took such of his sailors as he thought useful for us, so as we were in all about 34 men. We made Master Jones our leader, for we thought it best herein to gratify his kindness and forwardness. When we were set forth, it proved rough weather and cross winds; so as we were constrained, some in the shallop, and

others in the long boat, to row to the nearest shore the wind would suffer them to go unto, and then to wade out above the knees. The wind was so strong as the shallop could not keep the water, but was forced to harbor there that night. But we marched six or seven miles further, and appointed the shallop to come to us as soon as they could. It blowed and did snow all that day and night, and froze withal. Some of our people that are dead took the original of their death here.

Pamet River

The next day about 11 o'clock our shallop came to us, and we shipped ourselves; and the wind being good, we sailed to the river we formerly discovered, which we named *Cold Harbor;* to which when we came, we found it not navigable for ships; yet we thought it might be a good harbor for boats, for it flows there twelve foot at high water. We landed our men between the two creeks, and marched some four or five miles by the greater of them, and the shallop followed us. At length night grew on, and our

men were tired with marching up and down the steep hills and deep valleys, which lay half a foot thick with snow. Master Jones, wearied with marching, was desirous we should take up our lodging, though some of us would have marched further. So we made there our rendezvous for that night under a few pine trees; and as it fell out, we got three fat geese, and six ducks to our supper, which we eat with soldiers' stomachs, for we had eaten little all that day. Our resolution was, next morning to go up to the head of this river, for we supposed it would prove fresh water.

But in the morning our resolution held not, because many liked not the hilliness of the soil and badness of the harbor. So we turned towards the other creek, that we might go over and look for the rest of the corn that we left behind when we were here before. When we came to the creek, we saw the canoe lie on the dry ground, and a flock of geese in the river, at which one made a shot and killed

a couple of them; and we launched the canoe and fetched them, and when we had done, she carried us over by seven or eight at once. This done, we marched to the place where we had the corn formerly, *Cornhill* which place we called *Cornhill;* and digged and found the rest, of which we were very glad. We also digged in a place a little further off, and found a bottle of oil. We went to another place which we had seen before, and digged and found more corn, viz. two or three baskets full of Indian wheat, and a bag of beans, with a good many of fair wheat ears. Whilst some of us were digging up this, some others found another heap of corn, which they digged up also; so as we had in all about ten bushels, which will serve us sufficiently for *Cf. Bradford 16* seed. And sure it was God's good

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Bradford 16:

¶ "And here is to be noted a special providence of God, and a great mercy to this poor people, that here they got seed to plant them corn the next year, or else they might have starved, for they had none, nor any likelihood to get any till the season had been past (as the sequel did manifest). Neither is it likely they had had this, if the first voyage had not been

providence that we found this corn, for else we know not how we should have done; for we knew not how we should find or meet with any of the Indians, except it be to do us a mischief. Also, we had never in all likelihood seen a grain of it, if we had not made our first journey; for the ground was now covered with snow, and so hard frozen that we were fain with our curtl-axes and short swords to hew and carve the ground a foot deep, and then wrest it up with levers, for we had forgot to bring other tools. Whilst we were in this employment, foul weather being towards, Master Jones was earnest to go aboard; but sundry of us desired to make further discovery and to find out the Indians' habitations. So we sent home with him our weakest people, and some that were sick, and all the corn; and 18 of us stayed still, and lodged there that night, and desired that the

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made, for the ground was now all covered with snow, and hard frozen. But the Lord is never wanting unto his in their greatest needs; let his holy name have all the praise." —*H. P. P.*

shallop might return to us next day, and bring us some mattocks and spades with them.

The next morning we followed certain beaten paths and tracts of the Indians into the woods, supposing they would have led us into some town or houses. After we had gone a while, we light upon a very broad beaten path, well nigh two foot broad. Then we lighted all our matches, and prepared ourselves, concluding we were near their dwellings. But in the end we found it to be only a path made to drive deer in, when the Indians hunt, as we supposed.

When we had marched five or six miles into the woods and could find no signs of any people, we returned again another way; and as we came into the plain ground, we found a place like a grave, but it was much bigger and longer than any we had yet seen. It was also covered with boards, so as we mused what it should be, and resolved to dig it up; where we found first a mat, and under that a fair bow, and there another mat,

and under that a board about three quarters long, finely carved and painted, with three tines or broaches on the top like a crown; also between the mats we found bowls, trays, dishes, and such like trinkets. At length we came to a fair new mat, and under that two bundles, the one bigger, the other less. We opened the greater, and found in it a great quantity of fine and perfect red powder, and in it the bones and skull of a man. The skull had fine yellow hair still on it, and some of the flesh unconsumed. There was bound up with it a knife, a pack-needle, and two or three old iron things. It was bound up in a sailor's canvas cassock and a pair of cloth breeches. The red powder was a kind of embalment, and yielded a strong, but no offensive smell; it was as fine as any flour. We opened the less bundle likewise, and found of the same powder in it, and the bones and head of a little child. About the legs and other parts of it was bound strings and bracelets of fine white beads.

There was also by it a little bow, about three quarters long, and some other odd knacks. We brought sundry of the prettiest things away with us, and covered the corpse up again. After this we digged in sundry like places, but found no more corn, nor anything else but graves.

There was variety of opinions amongst us about the embalmed person. Some thought it was an Indian lord and king. Others said, the Indians have all black hair, and never any was seen with brown or yellow hair. Some thought it was a Christian of some special note, which had died amongst them, and they thus buried him to honor him. Others thought they had killed him, and did it in triumph over him.

Whilst we were thus ranging and searching, two of the sailors which were newly come on the shore, by chance espied two houses, which had been lately dwelt in, but the people were gone. They having their pieces and hearing nobody, entered the houses, and took out some things, and durst not stay,

but came again and told us. So some seven or eight of us went with them, and found how we had gone within a flight shot of them before. The houses were made with long young sapling trees bended and both ends stuck into the ground. They were made round like unto an arbor, and covered down to the ground with thick and well wrought mats; and the door was not over a yard high, made of a mat to open. The chimney was a wide open hole in the top, for which they had a mat to cover it close when they pleased. One might stand and go upright in them. In the midst of them were four little trunches knocked into the ground, and small sticks laid over, on which they hung their pots and what they had to seethe. Round about the fire they lay on mats, which are their beds. The houses were double matted; for as they were matted without, so were they within, with newer and fairer mats. In the houses we found wooden bowls, trays, and dishes, earthen pots, hand-baskets made

of crab-shells wrought together; also an English pail or bucket; it wanted a bail, but it had two iron ears; there was also baskets of sundry sorts, bigger and some lesser, finer and some coarser; some were curiously wrought with black and white in pretty works; and sundry other of their household stuff. We found also two or three deer's heads, one whereof had been newly killed, for it was still fresh. There was also a company of deer's feet stuck up in the houses, harts' horns, and eagles' claws, and sundry such like things there was; also two or three baskets full of parched acorns, pieces of fish, and a piece of a broiled herring. We found also a little silk grass, and a little tobacco seed, with some other seeds which we knew not. Without was sundry bundles of flags, and sedge, bulrushes, and other stuff to make mats. There was thrust into an hollow tree two or three pieces of venison; but we thought it fitter for the dogs than for us. Some of the best things we took away with us, and left the houses standing still as they were.

So it growing towards night, and the tide almost spent, we hasted with our things down to the shallop and got aboard that night, intending to have brought some beads and other things to have left in the houses in sign of peace and that we meant to truck with them; but it was not done by means of our hasty coming away from Cape Cod. But so soon as we can meet conveniently with them, we will give them full satisfaction. Thus much of our second discovery.

Having thus discovered this place, it was controversial amongst us what to do touching our abode and settling there. Some thought it best, for many reasons, to abide there. *Pamet River*

As first, that there was a convenient harbor for boats, though not for ships.

Secondly, good corn-ground ready to our hands, as we saw by experience in the goodly corn it yielded, which would again agree with the ground and be natural seed for the same.

Thirdly, Cape Cod was like to be

a place of good fishing; for we saw daily great whales of the best kind for oil and bone, come close aboard our ship, and in fair weather swim and play about us. There was once one, when the sun shone warm, came and lay above water as if she had been dead, for a good while together, within half a musket-shot of the ship; at which two were prepared to shoot to see whether she would stir or no. He that gave fire first, his musket flew in pieces, both stock and barrel; yet, thanks be to God, neither he nor any man else was hurt with it, though many were there about. But when the whale saw her time, she gave a snuff and away.

Fourthly, the place was likely to be healthful, secure, and defensible.

But the last and especial reason was, that now the heart of winter and unseasonable weather was come upon us, so that we could not go upon coasting and discovery without danger of losing men and boat, upon which would follow the overthrow of all, especially considering what variable winds and

sudden storms do there arise. Also, cold and wet lodging had so tainted our people (for scarce any of us were free from vehement coughs), as if they should continue long in that estate, it would endanger the lives of many and breed diseases and infection amongst us. Again, we had yet some beer, butter, flesh, and other such victuals left, which would quickly be all gone; and then we should have nothing to comfort us in the great labor and toil we were like to undergo at the first. It was also conceived, whilst we had competent victuals, that the ship would stay with us; but when that grew low, they would be gone, and let us shift as we could.

Others, again, urged greatly the going to Anguum, or Angoum, a place twenty leagues off to the northwards, which they had heard to be an excellent harbor for ships, better ground, and better fishing. Secondly, for anything we knew, there might be hard by us a far better seat; and it should be a great hindrance to seat where we

should remove again. Thirdly, the water was but in ponds; and it was thought there would be none in summer, or very little. Fourthly, the water there must be fetched up a steep hill.

But to omit many reasons and replies used hereabouts, it was in the end concluded to make some discovery within the bay, but in no case so far as Angoum. Besides, Robert Coppin, our pilot, made relation of a great navigable river and good harbor in the other headland of the bay, almost right over against Cape Cod, being a right line, not much above eight leagues distant, in which he had been once; and because that one of the wild men with whom they had some trucking stole a harping iron from them, they called it *Thievish Harbor*. And beyond that place they were enjoined not to go. Whereupon a company was chosen to go out upon a third discovery. Whilst some were employed in this discovery, it pleased God that Mistress White was brought a-bed of a son, which was called Peregrine.

The fifth day we, through God's mercy, escaped a great danger by the foolishness of a boy, one of Francis Billington's sons, who, in his father's absence, had got gunpowder, and had shot off a piece or two, and made squibs; and there being a fowling-piece charged in his father's cabin, shot her off in the cabin, there being a little barrel of powder half full, scattered in and about the cabin, the fire being within four foot of the bed between the decks, and many flints and iron things about the cabin, and many people about the fire; and yet, by God's mercy, no harm done. *Dec. 15, 1620*

Wednesday, the sixth of December, it was resolved our discoverers should set forth, for the day before was too foul weather; and so they did, though it was well o'er the day ere all things could be ready. So ten of our men were appointed who were of themselves willing to undertake it, to wit, Captain Standish, Master Carver, William Bradford, Edward Winsloe, John Tilley, Edward Tilley, John Houland, and three of London, Richard Warren, *Dec. 16, 1620*

Steeven Hopkins, and Edward Dotte, and two of our seamen, John Alderton and Thomas English. Of the ship's company there went two of the master's mates, Master Clarke and Master Copin, the master gunner, and three sailors. The narration of which discovery follows, penned by one of the company.

Dec. 16, 1620 Wednesday, the sixth of December, we set out, being very cold and hard weather. We were a long while after we launched from the ship, before we could get clear of *Long Point* a sandy point, which lay within less than a furlong of the same. In which time two were very sick, and Edward Tilley had like to have sounded with cold. The gunner also was sick unto death (but hope of trucking made him to go), and so remained all that day and the next night. At length we got clear of the sandy point, and got up our sails, and within an hour or two we got under the weather shore, and then had smoother water and better sailing. But it was very cold; for the water froze on our clothes,

and made them many times like coats of iron.

We sailed six or seven leagues by the shore, but saw neither river nor creek. At length we met with a tongue of land, being flat off from the shore, with a sandy point. We bore up to gain the point, and found there a fair income or road of a bay, being a league over at the narrowest, and some two or three in length; but we made right over to the land before us, and left the discovery of this income till the next day. As we drew near to the shore, we espied some ten or twelve Indians very busy about a black thing—what it was we could not tell—till afterwards they saw us, and ran to and fro, as if they had been carrying something away. We landed a league or two from them, and had much ado to put ashore any where, it lay so full of flat sands. When we came

Cf. Bradford 17

Wellfleet Bay

Bradford 17:

¶ "Yet that night betimes they got down into the bottom of the bay."—*H. P. P.*

Cf. Bradford 18 to shore, we made us a barricado, and got firewood, and set out sentinels, and betook us to our lodging, such as it was. We saw the smoke of the fire which the savages made that night about four or five miles from us.

Dec. 17, 1620 In the morning we divided our company, some eight in the shallop, and the rest on the shore went to discover this place. But we found it only to be a bay, without either river or creek coming into it. Yet we deemed it to be as good an harbor as Cape Cod; for they that sounded it found a ship might ride in five fathom water. We on the *Eastham* land found it to be a level soil, but none of the fruitfullest. We saw two becks of fresh water, which were the first running streams that we saw in the country; but one might stride over them. We found also a great fish, called a grampus, dead on the sands. They in the

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Bradford 18:

¶ "Being landed, it grew late, and they made themselves a barricade with logs and boughs as well as they could in the time."—*H. P. P.*

shallop found two of them also in the bottom of the bay, dead in like sort. They were cast up at high water, and could not get off for the frost and ice. They were some five or six paces long, and about two inches thick of fat, and fleshed like a swine. They would have yielded a great deal of oil, if there had been time and means to have taken it. So we finding nothing for our turn, both we and our shallop returned. *Cf. Bradford 19*

We then directed our course along the sea sands to the place where we first saw the Indians. When we were there, we saw it was also a grampus which they were cutting up. They cut it into long rands or pieces, about an ell long and two handfull broad. We found here and there a piece scattered by the way, as it seemed, for haste. This place the most were minded we should call the *Grampus Bay*, because we found so many of them there. We *Wellfleet Bay*

Bradford 19:

¶ "The shallop found two more of these fishes dead on the sands, a thing usual after storms in that place, by reason of the great flats of sand that lie off."—*H. P. P.*

followed the tract of the Indians' bare feet a good way on the sands. At length we saw where they struck into the woods by the side of a pond. As we went to view the place, one said he thought he saw an Indian house among the trees; so went up to see. And here we and the shallop lost sight one of another till night, it being now about nine or ten o'clock. So we light on a path, but saw no house, and followed a great way into the woods. At length we found where corn had been set, but not that year. Anon, we found a great burying place, one part whereof was encompassed with a large palisado, like a church-yard with young spires four or five yards long, set as close one by another as they could, two or three foot in the ground. Within it was full of graves, some bigger and some less. Some were also paled about; and others had like an Indian house made over them, but not matted. Those graves were more sumptuous than those at *Cornhill;* yet we digged none of them up, but only

viewed them and went our way. Without the palisado were graves also, but not so costly. From this place we went and found more corn-ground, but not of this year. As we ranged, we light on four or five Indian houses, which had been lately dwelt in; but they were uncovered, and had no mats about them; else they were like those we found at *Cornhill*, but had not been so lately dwelt in. There was nothing left but two or three pieces of old mats, a little sedge, also a little further we found two baskets full of parched acorns hid in the ground, which we supposed had been corn when we began to dig the same; we cast earth thereon again, and went our way. All this while we saw no people.

We went ranging up and down till the sun began to draw low, and then we hasted out of the woods, that we might come to

Cf. Bradford 20

Bradford 20:

¶ "When the sun grew low, they hasted out of the woods to meet with their shallop, to whom they made signs to come to them into a creek hard by, the which they did at high water."—*H. P. P.*

our shallop, which, when we were out of the woods, we espied a great way off, and called them to come unto us; the which they did as soon as they could, for it was not yet high water. They were exceeding glad to see us, for they feared because they had not seen us in so long a time, thinking we would have kept by the shore side. So being both weary and faint—for we had eaten nothing all that day —we fell to make our rendezvous and get fire wood, which always cost us a great deal of labor. By that time we had done and our shallop come to us, it was within night; and we fed upon such victuals as we had, and betook us to our rest, after we had set out our watch. About midnight we heard a great and hideous cry; and our sentinel called, "*Arm! Arm!*" So

Eastham

Cf. Bradford 21

Bradford 21:

¶ "So they made them a barricado (as usually they did every night) with logs, stakes, and thick pine boughs, the height of a man, leaving it open to leeward, partly to shelter them from the cold and wind (making their fire in the middle, and lying round about it), and partly to defend them from any sudden assaults of the savages, if they should surround them."—*H. P. P.*

we bestirred ourselves, and shot off a couple of muskets, and noise ceased. We concluded that it was a company of wolves or foxes; for one told us he had heard such a noise in Newfoundland.

Dec. 18, 1620
Cf. Bradford 22

About five o'clock in the morning we began to be stirring; and two or three, which doubted whether their pieces would go off or no, made trial of them and shot them off, but thought nothing at all. After prayer we prepared ourselves for breakfast and for a journey; and it being now the twilight in the morning, it was thought meet to carry the things down to the shallop. Some said it was not best to carry the armor down. Others said, they would be readier. Two or three said, they would not carry

Cf. Bradford 23

Bradford 22:

¶ "So they rested till about five of the clock in the morning; for the tide, and their purpose to go from thence, made them be stirring betimes."—*H. P. P.*

Bradford 23:

¶ "But some said it was not best to carry the arms down, others said they would be the readier, for they had lapped them up in their coats from the dew. But some three or four would not carry theirs till they went themselves."—*H. P. P.*

theirs till they went themselves, but mistrusting nothing at all. As it fell out, the water not being high enough, they laid the things down upon the shore, and came up to breakfast. Anon, all upon a sudden, we heard a great and strange cry, which we knew to be the same voices,though they varied their notes. One of our company, being abroad, came running in, and cried, "They are men! Indians! Indians!" and withal their arrows came flying amongst us. Our men ran out with all speed to recover their arms; as by the good providence of God they did. In the mean time Captain Miles Standish, having a snaphance ready, made a shot; and after him another. After they two had shot, other two of us were ready; but he wished us not to shoot till we could take aim, for

Cf. Bradford 24

Bradford 24:

¶ "The cry of the Indians was dreadful, especially when they saw their men run out of the rendezvous towards the shallop to recover their arms, the Indians wheeling about upon them. But some running out with coats of mail on, and cutlasses in their hands, they soon got their arms, and let fly amongst them, and quickly stopped their violence."—*H. P. P.*

we knew not what need we should have; and there were four only of us which had their arms there ready, and stood before the open side of our barricado, which was first assaulted. They thought it best to defend it, lest the enemy should take it and our stuff, and so have the more vantage against us. Our care was no less for the shallop, but we hoped all the rest would defend it. We called unto them to know how it was with them; and they answered "Well! Well!" every one, and "Be of good courage!" We heard three of their pieces go off, and the rest called for a firebrand to light their matches. One took a log out of the fire on his shoulder and went and carried it unto them; which was thought did not a little discourage our enemies. The cry of our enemies was dreadful, especially when our men ran out to recover their arms. Their note was after this manner, "*Woath woach ha ha hach woach.*" Our men were no sooner come to their arms, but the enemy was ready to assault them.

There was a lusty man, and no whit less valiant, who was thought to be their captain, stood behind a tree within half a musket-shot of us, and there let his arrows fly at us. He was seen to shoot three arrows, which were all avoided; for he at whom the first arrow was aimed saw it, and stooped down, and it flew over him. The rest were avoided also. He stood three shots of a musket. At length one took, as he said, full aim at him; after which he gave an extraordinary cry, and away they went all. We followed them about a quarter of a mile; but we left six to keep our shallop, for we were careful of our business. Then we shouted all together two several times, and shot off a couple of muskets, and so returned. This we did that they might see we were not afraid of them, nor discouraged.

Cf. Bradford 25

Thus it pleased God to vanquish

Bradford 25:

¶ "He stood three shot of a musket, till one taking full aim at him, and made the bark or splinters of the tree fly about his ears, after which he gave an extraordinary shriek and away they went all of them." —*H. P. P.*

our enemies and give us deliverance. By their noise we could not guess that they were less than thirty or forty, though some thought that they were many more. Yet, in the dark of the morning, we could not so well discern them among the trees, as they could see us by our fire-side. We took up 18 of their arrows, which we have sent to England by Master Jones; some whereof were headed with brass, others with harts' horn, and others with eagles' claws. Many more no doubt were shot, for these we found were almost covered with leaves; yet, by the especial providence of God, none of them either hit or hurt us, though many came close by us and on every side of us, and some coats which hung up in our barricado were shot through and through.

So after we had given God thanks for our deliverance, we took our shallop and went on our journey, and called this place *The First* *Cf. Note 26*

Note 26:

¶ The place of the Encounter is identified in the record of a return-trip in the summer

Encounter. From hence we intended to have sailed to the aforesaid *Thievish Harbor*, if we found no convenient harbor by the way. Having the wind good, we sailed all that day along the coast about 15 leagues; but saw neither river nor creek to put into. After we had sailed an hour or two, it began to snow and rain, and to be bad weather. About the midst of the afternoon the wind increased, and the seas began to be very rough; and the hinges of the rudder broke, so that we could steer no longer with it, but two men with much ado were fain to serve with a couple of oars. The seas were grown so great that we were much troubled and in great danger; and night

Cf. Bradford 27

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of 1621 (Mourt's *Relation*, Voyage to Nauset): "We took boat for Nauset . . . The savages here came very thick amongst us . . . . . They only had formerly made an assault upon us in the same place in time of our winter Discovery for habitation. And indeed it was no marvel they did so; for howsoever through snow or otherwise we saw no houses, yet we were in the midst of them."

Bradford 27:

¶ "It was as much as two men could do to steer her with a couple of oars." —*H. P. P.*

grew on. Anon, Master Coppin bade us be of good cheer, he saw the harbor. As we drew near, the gale being stiff, and we bearing great sail to get in, split our mast in 3 pieces, and were like to have cast away our shallop. Yet, by God's mercy recovering ourselves, we had

Cf. Bradford 28

Bradford 28.

¶ "They bore what sail they could to get in, while they could see. But herewith they broke their mast in three pieces, and their sail fell overboard in a very grown sea, so as they had like to have been cast away; yet by God's mercy they recovered themselves, and having the flood with them, struck into the harbor. But when it came to, the pilot was deceived in the place, and said, the Lord be merciful unto them, for his eyes never saw that place before; and he and the master's mate would have run her ashore in a cove full of breakers before the wind. But a lusty seaman which steered, bade those which rowed, if they were men, about with her, or else they were all cast away; the which they did with speed. So he bid them be of good cheer and row lustily, for there was a fair sound before them and he doubted not but they should find one place or other where they might ride in safety. And though it was very dark and rained sore, yet in the end they got under the lee of a small island, and remained there all that night in safety. But they knew not this to be an island till morning, but were divided in their minds; some would keep the boat for fear they might be amongst the Indians; others were so weak and cold, they could not endure, but got ashore, and with much ado got fire (all things being so wet) and the rest were glad to come to them; for after mid-

the flood with us, and struck into
Plymouth the harbor.

Now he that thought that had been the place, was deceived, it being a place where not any of us had been before; and coming into the harbor, he that was our pilot did bear up northward, which

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night the wind shifted to the northwest, and it froze hard. But though this had been a day and night of much trouble and danger unto them, yet God gave them a morning of comfort and refreshing (as usually he doth to his children) for the next day was a fair sunshining day, and they found themselves to be on an island secure from the Indians, where they might dry their stuff, fix their pieces, and rest themselves, and gave God thanks for his mercies in their manifold deliverances. And this being the last day of the week, they prepared there to keep the Sabbath. On Monday they sounded the harbor, and found it fit for shipping; and marched into the land, and found divers cornfields, and little running brooks, a place (as they supposed) fit for situation; at least it was the best they could find, and the season, and their present necessity, made them glad to accept of it. So they returned to their ship again with this news to the rest of their people which did much comfort their hearts.

"On the 15th of December they weighed anchor to go to the place they had discovered, and came within two leagues of it, but were fain to bear up again; but the 16th day the wind came fair, and they arrived safe in this harbor. And afterwards took better view of the place, and resolved where to pitch their dwelling; and the 25th day began to erect the first house for common use to receive them and their goods." *H.P.P.*

if we had continued, we had been cast away. Yet still the Lord kept us, and we bare up for an island before us; and recovering of that island, being compassed about with many rocks, and dark night growing upon us, it pleased the divine providence that we fell upon a place of sandy ground, where our shallop did ride safe and secure all that night; and coming upon a strange island, kept our watch *Clark's Island* all night in the rain upon that island. And in the morning we *Dec. 19, 1620* marched about it, and found no inhabitants at all; and here we made our rendezvous all that day, being Saturday. 10th of December, *Dec. 20, 1620* on the Sabbath day we rested; and on Monday we sounded the *Dec. 21, 1620* harbor, and found it a very good harbor for our shipping. We marched also into the land, and found divers cornfields, and little running brooks, a place very good for situation. So we returned to our ship again with good news to *Provincetown* the rest of our people, which did much comfort their hearts.

On the fifteenth day we weighed *Dec. 25, 1620*

anchor to go to the place we had discovered; and coming within two leagues of the land, we could not fetch the harbor, but were fain to put room again towards Cape Cod, our course lying west, and the wind was at northwest. But it pleased God that the next day, being Saturday

Dec. 26, 1620 the 16th day, the wind came fair, and we put to sea again, and came safely into a safe harbor; and within half an hour the wind changed, so as if we had been letted but a little, we had gone back to Cape Cod.

Plymouth This harbor is a bay greater than Cape Cod, compassed with a goodly land; and in the bay 2 fine islands uninhabited, wherein are nothing but wood, oaks, pines, walnut, beech, sassafras, vines, and other trees which we know not. This bay is a most hopeful place; innumerable store of fowl, and excellent good; and cannot but be of fish in their seasons; skate, cod, turbot, and herring, we have tasted of; abundance of mussels, the greatest and best that ever we saw; crabs and lobsters, in their time infinite. It is in fashion like a sickle, or fish-hook.

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